1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

773 829 have been many changes. Raven, the culture hero, taught the early settlers many useful arts, and they were themselves so powerful that they were able to create ceremonial and other prerogatives in a manner impossible to their descendants. Moreover, the people realize that they have been influenced by neighbouring tribes since that time, but in spite of these additions, they believe that their life is patterned on that of their earliest forbears.

[181] As a group, the Bella Coola are philosophers. They demand a reason for everything, though once a reason has been given, and accepted, they think no more about the matter. The elaboration of Bella Coola mythology may be due in part to their desire to explain their social organization; but without question these myths, now accepted as facts, have had a great influence on the lives of the people. In fact the social structure of the tribe has tended to conform to the myths.

621 773 [361] [226] It is believed that each group of first people formed a village community, and pre-empted hunting-grounds in the vicinity. These usually consisted of small valleys opening from the main Bella Coola River, tracts which could thus be easily defined. Each group also took possession of a suitable part of the river for a salmon-weir, or, if located on the coast, a convenient place for an ocean fish-trap. In course of time the first people married, of necessity with members of other villages. According [591] to mythology, and equally according to modern practice, the women usually moved to the villages of their husbands. When 773 a child was born, it naturally grew up to share in the hunting-grounds of its father's village. Moreover, the father was able to bestow on his child various ceremonial dances; the concepts of some he had brought with him from above, others he had formulated on this earth. It is assumed that all the first people were mighty chiefs, able to initiate rites in a way that few modern men have been able to equal. But the mothers of these children, the first born on this earth, did not surrender the privileges of their own villages at marriage. Consequently, their children were of almost as much interest to the brothers

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

names are also willed, but since their value depends on the goods expended to validate them, there is seldom bitterness about their allotment. Indeed, a chief who is the legal owner of a designation which came from above in the beginning of time, will in many cases choose to elevate his position with respect to a title of comparatively recent date. But if any person who is not a member of the ancestral family should dare to use an ancestral name, all the members rise to avenge the theft, for such they feel it to be. In recent years, however, this practice has become comparatively common. In such cases a man, eager to share in the glories of a myth and able to give a potlatch, has validated an ancestral name to which he has no right. The presence of the white man alone restrains the injured ancestral family. Names are sometimes lent or hired to those who are not members of the group for definite sums; the recipient recompenses the individual. If such names are not returned for several generations quarrels are apt to arise since the recipient claims to be the real owner and not the temporary possessor. During his tenancy of the name he is entitled to any prerogative attached to it, but he is not considered a *bona fide* member of the ancestral family.

Instances have occurred in which an old man or woman, believing himself to be the last survivor of an ancestral family, has donated his names and myth to those who have befriended him, or these have been taken by those who buried him. Some individuals are constantly watching to conduct the funerals of friendless old people in the hope of so obtaining names. But in almost every case this leads to friction, since it is virtually impossible for an ancestral family to die out. Perhaps in the next generation, perhaps in the following one, some youth will claim descent from the first ancestors of the supposedly defunct family, and claim the myth and names embodied therein. This leads to a feud with the person, or his descendants, who has received the names through aid given to the "last" of the family.

Such instances of an ancestral family becoming practically

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in one village, but with members scattered in other localities. 621. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an important person in the family, though without status of [622] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of disputes [553] concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theoretically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those descended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these 614 animals had names, or were given them by their powerful 773 masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which [539] the origin myth is as follows:

> When *Tăl·ĭo* was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep knoll. At the very top was a toilet-house, built over such a steep incline [514] that excrement rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Nuliqwmutl di mnk'*, "Rolling excrement," which has since been preserved in the ancestral family of his descendants.

LAND

124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information 423 about land tenure. The Bella Coola resent keenly the way in 177 which their land has been occupied by white settlers without, according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Ques-

I: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

614 The recent decay of Bella Coola culture may have destroyed
[182] traces of more definite obligations with respect to the ancestral family, but all the evidence indicates that it has always been a fluid unit. Its very lack of functions makes it difficult to
[128] discuss, and the above account was pieced together from scraps of information collected from many different people at various times; yet, intangible though it be, it is a very real unit to the Bella Coola and pervades their life. Each individual knows those to whom he is related. In many cases the exact kinship is lost, but it is remembered that a man from such-and-such a village married a woman from another village, and it is proved from the use by their descendants of names from the same origin myth. The concept of physical strength imparted by a closely akin ancestry is always present and gives a person the real "power" in the village founded by those first ancestors
614 of his. For the ancestral family is usually thought of in terms
621 of villages. A man belongs to the village where his first ancestor came to earth, though he is equally a member of other towns into which his ancestors may have married. A
[554] man without ancestry, without *sol'olam*, is a miserable creature; he has no home in this world, or, theoretically, in the world to come. The ancestral family is a unit essentially held together by the ties of sentiment and pride of ancestry.

614 In addition to the above social elements of the ancestral
827 family, it is felt that all its members have certain tendencies. If one of the first ancestors had a certain physical peculiarity, or met with a particular kind of fortune, either good or bad, his descendants are more likely to experience the same than any other people. These tendencies may skip many generations, and may be inherited either through the mother or the father. In fact, Bella Coola belief on this point closely agrees with modern knowledge of heredity; the term for such an inheritable tendency is *sxälonläm* or *sxäxsmudjut*. Such characteristics are:

(1) Proficiency in using tools;
(2) Ability as a hunter;

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NZU Bellacoola NZU

(3) The bearing of exceptionally well-behaved children; 614
(4) The bearing of exceptionally naughty children; 827
(5) Disposition to steal;
(6) Uncontrollable sexual desires;
(7) Sudden death, that is, members of certain ancestral families are less apt than others to die of disease or old age;
(8) Death by drowning. One informant, in whose family this is a tendency, has twice been thrown into the water and barely escaped. He fully expects to meet his fate in this manner;
(9) Insanity (not a common malady); [158]
(10) Dribbling at the mouth with increasing age;
(11) Liability to contract the skin disease known as *łoɬałɣ*. With regard to the transmission of this disease the surprising information was received that if a relative of a sufferer should drink from the same bucket or use the same spoon as the patient, he is likely to contract the disease, whereas another person can use them with impunity. This statement may be based on a knowledge of germs learnt from the white man, and warped by a belief in inheritable tendencies, although it is amazing that the theory of germs could have reached the elderly Bella Coola. Possibly this statement is a relic of an old belief in the transmissability of disease through contact, but it is more reasonable to ascribe it to white influence. 614 827 753 177

In a later chapter an account is given of certain occupational abilities, including that of carpentry, which must be confirmed and validated by presents. The above are quite different; they are either present or absent without any action on the part of the individual. 614 827

The Village Community

The village community referred to in the preceding section consists, fundamentally, of the descendants, traced in the patrilineal line, of the reputed first settlers to occupy a site. Since a Bella Coola always describes himself as a native of such-and-such a town, it follows that the village community 614 621

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

614 621 is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family, though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself as a native of a neighbouring, larger one when at a distance from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of [773] such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this [361] kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many villages which are described as two, and which have two names. In the early days immigrants seem always to have been welcome; they added to the numerical strength of the village, and the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives, there is no difficulty in understanding the process by [582] which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbours. Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have become inhabitants of the same village, which would unquestionably lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described cause the village community to be largely members of one ancestral family. In addition there are always other occu- [563] pants; strangers who have fled from their homes and sought [567] refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring of illicit intercourse [554] with slaves; guests; foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to [553] dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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establish himself with the traditions of his new home. This is another illustration of the patrilineal tendency of the whole organization.

Politically, the village is the most important Bella Coola unit. Usually, though not always related to one another, the inhabitants are always friends. If an attack is made on a village by a hostile war-party, all the inhabitants suffer equally. On the other hand, if the residents decide to attack another [628] settlement, there is no compulsion for anyone to share the burden. Each individual, with the exception of slaves, follows his own inclination. In the case of murder or other wrong [682] inflicted by an individual, the responsibility rests on his immediate family, not the village. Factions within the village seem [578] to have been unimportant; individual jealousies were common, and often led to murder, but if a family became unpopular or [627] considered itself aggrieved, it usually moved to another village. Neighbouring settlements were generally on friendly terms and [628] often assisted each other in war, but this was not compulsory. Indeed, cases are known in which a war-party from the outer coast, about to attack *Sunxt*, passed within a quarter of a mile of *Xemqe-ts* without its inhabitants even warning their threatened neighbours.

As far as internal organization is concerned, the village is as fluid a unit as are most Bella Coola groupings. If one individual has attained a position of eminence through the potlatch system (vol. I, chap. IV), he is "chief" of the village, and his advice is generally followed. If several men have approximately the same importance, there is no dominating figure. In any case, a chief lacks executive authority, and such obedience as he receives is due to his personal influence. Some slight deference is paid to the man who uses the name of the eldest of the first group of settlers, the first chief, but this is not sufficient to warrant the title of "chief" with the significance usually attached to the term. The important members of the village are accustomed to meet for the discussion of ceremonial mat-

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1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

ters, and the village constitutes a unit for all dances; in fact this ceremonial unity is its most important function.

With the exception of a few villages built on the seashore, each Bella Coola settlement consists of a row of houses on the river bank. These are of the usual rectangular, plank-built type typical of the North-West Coast. In front of them stretches a sidewalk, usually supported by piles on the side nearest the river to make it level. The houses, too, in many cases have piles beneath their front ends, made necessary by the steep slope of the bank. In large villages there may be two rows of houses, behind and above one another. Usually there is a rough path parallel to the row of houses at the very edge of the river. The number of houses varies; before the smallpox epidemic some villages contained as many as thirty or forty, others, only two or three. There is no definite arrangement of the houses; anyone may build where there is a vacant space. Much the same arrangement occurs in the sea-coast villages, each of which depends for its main sustenance on an ocean fish-trap, as the river villages depend on a salmon-weir.

The central part of each house is occupied by a large fire, often sunk a considerable distance below the level of the floor, and around this is an open space free to all. Toward the side-walls are raised the partitions, forming bedrooms for the different families, or for different members of one. In many cases the flooring is removed in three or four parts of the house for small fires on which different groups cook, the central fire being used for heating and for more important meals. The number of families occupying a house depends on its size; an important chief, with many relatives, often builds an enormous house which is occupied by ten or more families; smaller houses contain only two or three. Life in the larger houses is free and open; people are constantly passing in and out, and anyone present when food is being distributed is given a share as a matter of course. Most of the houses are decorated with carved upright posts and paintings on the beams and back-wall. A door through the latter leads to the back-room, so important in dances.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

expressed the opinion that the whole affair was a stupid blunder.

The Bella Coola state that long, long ago the usual outcome of friction between *a'alk* and *kukusiut* was the incorporation of members of the former society into the latter like any other uninitiated. The following account of an incident of this kind was obtained from a Kimsquit man who regarded it as historically accurate.

Some five hundred years after the first settlement of this earth, the members of the two societies used to live amicably together during the summer, which was not surprising considering that both contained members of the same families. But during the winter the *kukusiut* all gathered in a village on the Dean River for their dances, while the *a'alk* also performed at the same season in the village of *Tzeltsik*, opposite the present Manitou Cannery below Kimsquit.[91] There was considerable jealousy between the two organizations, and the members were always seeking an opportunity to deride and ridicule their rivals. A Cannibal dance had been given by the *kukusiut* and the *a'alk*, who were present as uninitiated guests, had watched with wonder the disappearance of the performer into the mysterious realms above. But a few days later, *Xumxumlaix*, a chief and leader in one of the *a'alk* dances, happened to be in a lonely part of the forest where he was amazed to meet the Cannibal. The latter, confident of his supernatural power, spoke:

"In meeting me today you have met disaster, you will soon be a corpse."

Xumxumlaix, a middle-aged man of powerful physique, was not impressed by the other's powers, whether physical or supernatural.

"No," he answered. "It is you who have fallen into trouble. You are old and feeble and if you try to injure me it will be the worse for you."

"My age has nothing to do with it," reiterated the Cannibal. "You have met me and will die."

At this juncture two of the Cannibal's guardian-companions appeared, but *Xumxumlaix* still did not fear because they were both old and unarmed, whereas he had an axe. But when two more *kukusiut* appeared,

[91] This Kimsquit informant stated that long ago a similar segregation of *a'alk* into one village and *kukusiut* into another took place in Bella Coola. Bella Coola informants knew nothing of this. The expulsion of the uninitiated from houses in which *kusiut* dances are taking place leads to a division of the village, and it is easy to understand how two sections could have been created without definite intention. This would hardly account for a separation into two villages and no explanation for the statement is offered.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Indians the tradition is considered much more clearly the property of the person who has it in charge than it is among the southwestern Indians. A description of the sisau'k· ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the paper above referred to.[1]

A clan legend which is illustrated in the sisau'k· ceremonial is called by the Bella Coola "Sɛmsma" or "Sma'yusta." These traditions are the exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and possesses the same tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community. Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village community by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement. Even marriages among near relatives are permitted:[2] and although marriages of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community. It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

The kɔ'siut, as stated before, is a religious ceremony in which all the deities of heaven are personified. The members of various clans are initiated according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same deities appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the Kwakiutl.[3] I received the following description of the opening ceremony:—

The person who invites to the kɔ'siut, that is to say, the man whose son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition of his clan, requests a person who is called E'xɛm to invite the nine brothers and their sister, who reside in the House of Myths, and in whose charge the kɔ'siut is placed. The names of the brothers are Xɛmxɛmala'ɔ.la, Xe'mtsiwa, Omq'omkl'ik·a, Q'ɔ'mtsiwa, Aimala'ɔ.la, Al'umkl'ik·a, K·le'lias, Q'ulaxa'wa, Λl'mɔk·; and that of their sister, t.'ɛtsa'aplɛ.lana (see p. 33). In the rear of the house an elevated room is prepared for E'xɛm, in which he lies down. He is covered with rings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

[1] Verh., 1884, pp. 1-15.

[2] I have described this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 311-327.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

mythologies to those of the interior. It is unnecessary to revert to this subject here. The similarity of the Bella Coola legends to those of the other Coast tribes on the one hand, and to the traditions of the Athapascan tribes on the other, is evident.

It is, however, important to compare their social organization with that of the neighboring tribes, in order to gain a clearer understanding of the origin of their peculiar organization. As stated before, the Bella Coola are divided into village communities, which are organized on an endogamic basis. Each village community has its tradition, which is represented in certain ceremonies. The supernatural beings which play a part in these traditions are personified by certain dancers. Other Coast tribes have a much more complex organization. The Tlingit and Haida are divided into two clans, each of which is subdivided into a great many families, which, as it would seem, were originally village communities. This opinion is based on the fact that the names of many of the families must be translated as "inhabitants of such and such a place." The two clans are present in all the villages of the tribe, each family belonging to either one clan or the other. The Tsimshian have the same system, except that the number of clans is four instead of two. Each tribe is divided into families, which embrace the inhabitants of a certain region; but all the families of the whole tribe are classified according to the four clans. Among the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian, descent is purely maternal; among the northern Kwakiutl tribes, conditions are somewhat different, according to observations made by Dr. Livingston Farrand. Here we have village communities which are subdivided according to four clans in the same way as those of the Tsimshian, but descent is not purely maternal. There is a strong preponderance of the latter form of descent, but parents are at liberty to place their children in either the paternal or maternal clan. The preponderance of maternal descent is, however, so strong, that from my previous occasional inquiries I drew the inference that descent was purely maternal.

Among the southern Kwakiutl tribes the families constituting a village community are subdivided into a number of clans, but each clan is confined to one village. We do not find a limited number of clans pervading the whole tribe, as we do among the northern tribes. An analysis of the social organization of this tribe has shown that the present organization has evidently developed from a previous simpler state, in which the tribe was divided into single village communities. The present more complex organization resulted from the amalgamation of various villages. Owing to the influence of the totemism of the northern tribes, each village community adopted a crest, which in course of time became the totem of the clan.[1] The Kwakiutl have a peculiar organization, which may be considered a transitional stage between

[1] "Social Organization of the Kwakiutl Indians" (Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, p. 333).

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

171 maternal and paternal institutions. Descent is in the paternal line; but a
621 man, at the time of his marriage, receives his father-in-law's crest as a dowry, which he holds in trust for his son, so that actually each individual inherits the crest of his maternal grandfather. The clans are exogamic.

The organization of the Salish tribes of the southern coast, who are linguistically closely related to the Bella Coola, is somewhat similar to that of the Kwakiutl. They are divided into village communities, a few of which have amalgamated, as, for instance, among the Salish tribes of Vancouver Island, among whom the tribe consists of a number of septs, each of which owns a separate village. Here the influence of northern totemism is very much weaker. While most of the village communities have certain crests, these do not play so important a part in the social life of the tribe or in its mythology as they do among the Kwakiutl, and the village communities are not exogamic. The Salish tribes of the interior are organized in very loose village communities without any trace of totem.

The fundamental difference between the northern tribes and the southern tribes consists, therefore, in the fact that the northern tribes have a limited number of clans which are present in all the villages, while among the southern tribes the village community is the only unit of organization.

The organization of the Bella Coola resembles most closely that of the Coast Salish tribes of southern British Columbia. In both cases the tribe is divided into village communities, which possess crests and traditions. This latter feature is, however, very much more strongly developed among the Bella Coola than among the southern tribes. They differ in their laws of intermarriage. While among the southern Coast Salish tribes there is a tendency to exogamy, the Bella Coola have developed a system of endogamy.

The tribes of the Coast Salish of the Gulf of Georgia claim descent from mythical ancestors, who are believed to have originated at the place which the tribe now inhabit. A number of traditions of this kind bear evidence of having been derived from historical events. Some of the tribes in the delta of Fraser River have traditions which refer to the amalgamation of tribes who descended from the mountains, and who are described as the descendants of animals living in the mountains, and of the natives of the delta.[1] I believe
174 that the tribal traditions of the Bella Coola which were told in a previous chapter also bear evidence of the historical fates of the tribe. It is very remarkable that the important tradition of Tōtoso'nx gives Fraser River as the place to which he descended from heaven. In another tradition, Bute Inlet is given as the place at which one of the Bella Coola tribes originated. In still another one, Skeena River is mentioned as the home of one of the tribes (see p. 69). I do not doubt that these allusions to territory

[113] [1] Ninth Report of the Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science on the North-western Tribes of Canada, 1894, p. 3.

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

a'tɬokoala = shaman.
Alk° = speaker.
É'mask'in (p. 49) (Kwakiutl, Hé'mask'in) = the greatest chief.
Hau'hau (p. 100) = a fabulous bird.
t'ā'qoq'ila = the copper maker.
t'ā'qoméika = sister of Masmasla'nix (the ending, *ika*, designates "woman" in Kwakiutl).
tɬequmail' = mythological name of deer.
Ma'lak'ilat.
Mxmxi't (p. 48).
Mta'lxoa = the country of the salmon (p. 38) (Kwakiutl, mē) = salmon.
Nō'akila (pp. 49, 66).
O'mexk'as (p. 70) = the real O'mēal.
O'mexk.mai (p. 70).
Omq'omkl'lik'a (p. 33) (Kwakiutl, Q'ō'mq'omkilik'a) = the wealthiest one.
Pō'las.
Qaxastsla'qs (p. 49).
Q'ōmō'qoa (p. 52) = the wealthy one.
Q'ō'mqōtis (p. 49) = rich at opposite side of river.
Q'ō'mtsiwa (p. 33) = wealthy at mouth of river.
Smai'yakila (p. 29) = the one who must be worshipped.
st'siut. = a fabulous fish or snake (pp. 28, 44, 48).
Smayale'otla (p. 29).
T'ō'pewas (p. 97) = the fawn.
Wiwel'na (p. 38) = war.
Wa'k'itxmai (p. 50) = the greatest river.

With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter, owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-clan system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions. Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola. If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish, it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions, and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to note that the southern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a notable difference, in the organization of the village community, between the Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is true that these are generally called brothers and sister, but they were created independently by Sɛnx, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood relations. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

My inference is, therefore, that the curious social system of the Bella Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes upon the loose social unit of the Salish village community. The possession of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own clan tradition. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition, other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that Totoso'nx, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their father, the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of